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THE
POLITICAL CONDUCT
OF
William Pitt
The EARL of CHATHAM.

Vane Ligur, frustra que animis elate superbis,
Nequicquam — tentasti lubricus artes.

VIRG.



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THE
POLITICAL CONDUCT
OF
The EARL of CHATHAM.

A Cry of Liberty hath gone Abroad in this Country ever since the Revolution, which, tho' it prevents arbitrary Encroachments by the Crown, subjects the People to every Species of Political Imposition. Artful and ambitious Men have harped upon a String that was agreeable, though little understood; and, arming themselves with the Prejudices of the Vulgar, have often taken the Cabinet by Storm. What facilitated this democratical Manner of rising to the Zenith of Power, was the Accession of a foreign Family to the Throne. Unacquainted with the Manners and Policy of this Country, it was not difficult to work upon their Fears, and to veil, from their Eyes, the
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Power, which the Crown had actually placed in their Hands.

An artful Minister, in the Reign of *George* the Second, made use of this latter Expedient, to strengthen his own Hands in Office. Disliked by the Sovereign, as well as by the People, he erected an intermediate Power for himself, by which he commanded both. He overawed the Nation with the Power of the Crown, and he terrified the Prince with imaginary and well-contrived Fictions of Disaffection in the Subject. This Method of Governing, at once satisfied the Ambition of the Minister, and glutted the Avarice of his Friends and Dependants. The *Pelbams* trod in the Steps of *Walpole*, and, by the Accession of Family-Connection to the Influence of the Crown, reigned, if I may use that Expression, with more Security than their Predecessor in Office. The feeble Efforts of Opposition, by furnishing easy Victories to Administration, served only to confirm their Power.

Mr. *Pitt*, instigated by the Success of *Walpole* and the *Pelbams*, and possessed of no less Ambition than of Means to gratify it, in a popular Government, had long fixed a Plan in his own Mind, to become the Head of an Oligarchy,
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that might govern, at once independent of the Prince and the People. Destitute of Family Influence himself, he endeavoured to acquire by Marriage, those powerful Connections which his Birth had denied. He was not long in Possession of this necessary Qualification for Office, before an Opportunity offered of turning that common Engine of Opposition, Popular Clamour, against the Ministry. A War, begun with little Vigor, was attended with no Success; and that Discontent, which always broods in the Breasts of *Englishmen*, became more noisy in the untoward Situation of Public Affairs.

Though Administration shook in their Place, *Pitt* found that their Power was too deeply rooted, to be totally or suddenly overturned. His Impatience to be in Office, co-operating with his Knowledge of the Strength, which the Ministerial Junto had acquired, by a long Possession of the Cabinet, induced him to listen to a Proposal of partaking of the Power, which it was impossible for him to engross wholly to himself. The old Ministry were scarcely less fond of Indolence, than they were of the Possession of the Public Money, and the Disposal of Civil Offices and Ecclesiastical Benefices. The active Part of Government was resigned to

Mr. *Pitt*; a Department of which he was no less fond, from the natural Warmth of his Genius, than on account of that Popularity, which he hoped to acquire, to aid his more extensive Plan of political Greatness.

The State of the Nation, as is always the Case, was much better than the evil-foreboding Patriots of the Times seemed to apprehend. A successful Course of Commerce, ever since the preceding War, had brought back more Millions, than had been squandered in the inglorious Campaigns in the Lower *Germany*. There was no Difficulty in raising Money; and the Success of modern War, when carried on with Spirit, depends more on Gold than on Steel. The Machine of State was sound, and to put it in Motion properly, was all that was necessary to insure Conquest to our Arms. *Pitt* had the good Fortune, not to be obliged to raise the Treasure, which he lavished with a profuse Hand; and that very Circumstance gave a careless Spirit to his Actions, which contributed not a little to his Success.

The People of *England*, though in Appearance fond of Political Freedom, are great Admirers of those decisive Measures, which are the

the most brilliant Part of Tyranny, and an absolute Exertion of Power. The slow Motions of a Popular Government, want, in vulgar Eyes, that Splendor which attends the rapid Determinations of Autocracy and Despotism. Mr. *Pitt*, possessed of Qualities, which might render a Man born to a Throne absolute even with the Consent of the People, was destitute of that polite Urbanity, which makes a Minister acceptable in the Closet. Born to no Fortune, his Mind had not been softened down to Humanity by Luxury, nor polished by Education. Nature had furnished him with a good Genius, to the Powers of which he was no Stranger; and a Self-Confidence, near allied to Insolence, distinguished every Part of his Conduct. Mixed with these uncourtly Defects, there sometimes appeared a Servility of Adulation, an Impudence of Flattery, that could only impose upon the Credulous, Vain, and Weak. By the latter Means, he kept Possession, in some Degree, of the Confidence of the People; his Eloquence in the Senate, the Tumult and Noise of successful Expeditions, not planned, tho' adopted by him, acquired to him the Admiration of the People.

During

During three Years the Nation was amused with a Series of Victories at which the rest of *Europe* were astonished. Men, whose Minds could not penetrate to the real Cause, ascribed to the Vigor and Activity of one Man, what actually was the Effect of the inherent Force of a powerful and wealthy People. Two Ministries, in the mean Time, subsisted in the Kingdom; and each of them looked forward to Schemes to establish an unrivaled and permanent Power. The *Newcastle* Junto relied for Success upon the Hold, which the Treasury gave them, of Parliament; the Family Faction, headed by *Pitt*, depended upon the Favor and Clamours of the Common People. The S——n was neglected, by both, and the thin Appearance on his Levée-Days, shewed, that the Consequence and Power of the Crown, were lodged in other Hands. The two Factions, however, committed one Error, which, in its Consequences, proved fatal to all their ambitious Schemes. The Plans they both had laid, depended ultimately upon the Continuation of a Life of more than Seventy; and they had fixed upon no Resting-place, for their Engines, beyond an Accident not uncommon at such an Age.

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The Death of the late King opened a Scene of Politics, in this Country, not unworthy of a minute Examination. The Permanency of the two Factions in Power, depended upon a Quarter, which they had taken no Pains to gain over, by previous Attention and Respect. A young Monarch, possessed, not only of the Influence of the Crown, but also of the Favor of the People, was too powerful against the united Efforts of both the Parties in Possession of the High Offices of State. The *Pelham* Faction had, by a Course of Injuries, of many Years Continuance, rendered themselves obnoxious at *L——r* *H——se*; and *P——t*, by a recent Desertion, and by breaking of Promises, had forfeited every Claim to future Regard. It was resolved to commence the Reign, with a new Ministry; but that Measure was laid aside, by the Advice of a Man, who put it in Execution at a much more improper Time.

A System of Government was then adopted, much better fitted for the Theory of the private Closet, than the Execution of the Cabinet of State. Resolutions already formed, however, salutary they might have been, were not well relished by Men, who, from the Responsibility of

of their Office, arrogated to themselves the Right of Pre-concerting, whatever they were to carry into Execution. To call the Earl of *Bute* into Office, was not less artful in Mr. *Pitt*, than it was flattering to the Vanity of a Man, who, mixed with good Qualities, was possessed of an Ambition, which he had not sufficient Political Courage to support. From the Moment, that his Lordship assumed the Seals, the Power of the *Newcastle* Party began visibly to decline. Men of Penetration saw, that the Interest of the old Ministry was hastening to an end, and those nearest to their Persons having the best Opportunity of foreseeing their Ruin, were the first, who deserted their Cause. The Department of Mr. *Pitt* still remained entire, and the new Minister seemed willing to divide his Power, with a Man, who really was (whether he deserved that Distinction or not, is not now the Question) the Favourite of the People.

A Part of the Ministerial Power was not enough to gratify the Ambition of a Person, who had so long laid a Plan of possessing himself of the Whole. The Management of the War was, however, left so compleatly in his Hands,
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and so much Attention was paid to him by his Rival, that he could form no specious Pretext for resigning his Office; which, by a strange Perversion of Politics, is reckoned in *England* the nearest Path to the Summit of Ambition. The Pretence, which *Bute* had the Prudence not to furnish to Mr. *Pitt*, presented itself from a Concurrence of Public Events.

The Success of *Great Britain* in the War had raised great Expectations in the People of a very advantageous Peace. Men, who saw our Victories Abroad, were Strangers to our exhausted Situation at Home. Though the Credit of Government was scrupulously preserved, Money could not be raised, but by ruinous and exorbitant Premiums. Though our Villages and Towns were, in a Manner, depopulated, our Army and Navy wanted one third of their Complements of Men. The Distress of *France* had opened a Resource to her, to which, in her Prosperity, she was a Stranger, and enabled her to continue the War with Vigor. She found that she could raise her Supplies within the Year, by applying the Interest of her Debts to the current Services; a Circumstance, tho' ruinous to

her Credit, alarming to her Enemies, from the Prospect of protracted Hostilities.

The Court of *Versailles*, being no Stranger to our Domestic Situation, insisted upon Terms in the Negotiation of 1761, to which the bad Success of the War, on the Part of *France*, could lay no Claim. Mr. *Pitt* did not hesitate what to do upon the Occasion. He was sensible, that no Terms of Peace, that could be obtained, would compleatly satisfy the high Expectations of the People; and he was afraid of losing that Popularity, which made him a formidable Rival to the Earl of *Bute*. He, therefore, rejected the Propositions of the *French* Court, and, doubtful of the future Success of the War, picked a Quarrel in the Cabinet, and retired, while yet his Laurels were fresh on his Brows.

Though to retire with Popularity, sufficient to return, with greater Force, upon *Bute*, was the primary Design of Mr. *Pitt*; his own Inattention, his Necessities, and some Public Events, had well nigh ruined all his Schemes. The Honors and Emolument conferred on his Family, were not more suitable to his Vanity and Indigence, than they were displeasing to the
People;

People; who look upon such Distinctions rather as Bribes, than Rewards of Services from the Crown. The great Success of the War under *Bute*, shewed to the World that *Pitt* was not the only Man in the Kingdom, who could exert his Power with Vigor; or it rather demonstrated, that Parts are much less necessary than Activity, in conducting the Military Operations of a well regulated and wealthy Nation. He, upon a double Account, fell in the Esteem of the Nation. His Acceptance of a Pension proved, that he was not altogether disinterested; and the prosperous Conduct of the War, detracted from the high Opinion of his Abilities, which were now found to be not unrivaled, nor peculiar.

The Cloud, that involved *Pitt* in his Retirement, began every Day to thicken; and that Meteor, which for some Years had flamed in the Forehead of the Political Sky, gradually vanished, without leaving one Trace behind it. The prosperous Campaigns and successful Expeditions of the Year 1762, discovered a Vigor in Government, that made *Pitt's* Resignation little regretted, by the most sanguine Partizans of his Fame in Office. A War was begun, carried on

with uncommon Spirit, and terminated with Honor, against a powerful Nation, in the short Space of nine Months. *France*, after having experienced how unavailing was the Aid of *Spain*, was obliged to submit to worse Terms, from the Earl of *Bute*, than she had refused to accept from Mr. *Pitt*. A Peace was concluded, honorable, because it was equitable, and advantageous, because, by expelling the *French* from the Continent of *America*, it left no Room for the Seeds of future Wars, in that Quarter of the World.

Mindful of his original Plan of Aggrandizement, Mr. *Pitt* was not idle in his rural Retreat; he looked from his Obscurity, upon the various Transactions at *St. James's*, and was ever in Readiness to seize, by the Favor of the People, upon the Helm, which he could not retain, by that of the Sovereign. The Peace concluded in the End of 1762, was the first popular Object of Opposition. The City of *London*, deriving Protection to its Trade, from a successful Sea-War, did not feel any great Share of the Hardships, which arose to the rest of the Nation, from a Continuation of Hostilities. The Money expended by Government upon the War, flowed

ed through every Vein of Trade in the Capital, and what actually was national Waste, was mistaken, by the Interested and Superficial, for an Increase of real Commerce to *London*. Little Argument is necessary, at any Time, to raise Clamours in a populous City, against a Government, which the Rabble have been accustomed to oppose. By the Aid of popular Noise, Mr. *Pitt* hoped to force his Way again into the Cabinet; or, at least, he was determined to regain, by one Instance of Opposition, some Part of the Confidence of the People, which he might use, as Occasion should offer. He spoke against the Peace; he was disappointed in his Expectations; he retired into the Country.

The Support of the Prince, the Acquiescence of the People, the Complaisance of Parliament, and the baffled Efforts of his Rival, seemed now to have rivetted and established the Earl of *Bute*, as a permanent Minister. A feeble Clamour, without Doors, must have soon died away, with the Hopes of forcing his Lordship, from his high Department. To the Astonishment of the World, to the certain Ruin of his Character, as a Politician, he suddenly resigned. The Surprise of his Enemies prevented them, from ta-
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king Advantage of the Consternation among his Friends. The former abused him, the latter blamed him, both despised his Conduct.

This Conduct, however, arose more from the Character and Disposition of the Man, than from any public Opposition to his Measures, or private Circumstance of Intimidation. Though born with good Parts, and a good Heart, he was possessed of Qualities, which sullied the one, and made the other doubtful, in the Eyes of the Superficial and Prejudiced. Surrounded with Men, whose Weakness was known to the World, his Judgment of Mankind became to be suspected; and it was difficult to reconcile Benevolence of Temper, with a Pride, that rendered him inaccessible. Attached by Nature to a retired Manner of Life, which the Narrowness of his Fortune had rendered necessary, he contracted a Shyness of Disposition, which ought never to be carried into the highest Department of the State. Habit established the Companions of the obscure Part of his Life so firmly in his Mind, that he sacrificed his Reputation with others, to an Appearance of an Attention to them. They were, however, his Companions, but not his Counsellors:

lors : he loved them for their Good - Nature ; his Good - Sense forced him to despise their Understandings. Intelligent, penetrating, and shrewd, he studied the Theory of Government with Success ; Circumstances attending his Youth, and a Habit of Retirement, circumscribed his Knowledge in the Practice. Mistaking the Attention paid to his Office and Situation, for actual Attachment to his Person, he was deceived by the Designing ; and he looked upon political Desertion, as a singular Instance of Depravity in the Age. The Noise and Clamours of an interested Few, he took for the Voice of the Public ; and, thinking he had deserved well of the Nation, he was offended at its Ingratitude. He retired with Chagrin ; and his Enemies owed the Victory, which they ascribed to their own Spirit and Conduct, to an adventitious Mistake in his Mind.

The Resignation of the Earl of *Bute* did not furnish a near Prospect to Mr. *Pitt*, of an exclusive Possession of the Cabinet. His Friend, Mr. *Grenville*, was either too dull, too proud, or too interested, to give up the actual Possession of the first Office in the State, for the Hopes of acting

acting a secondary Part, under his Brother-in-law. Reviled, laughed at, abused, for being a Tool to his Predecessor in Office, he loved Emolument so much, that he despised the Clamours and Noise of his Friends and Opponents; not unlike the Afs, in one of *Homer's* Similes, whom all the Battons in the Village could not drive from a good Field of Corn.

Money, however, was not sufficient to satisfy *Grenville*; for even his dull Mind became warmed with the Flame of Ambition. Having secured the Closet, with a Series of obliging Measures, he formed a Plan to keep a permanent Possession of it, on the intermediate System, carried, with so much Success, into Execution, by *Walpole* and the *Pelhams*. This precipitate and unadvised Conduct, in this Instance, was not less fatal to his ambitious Schemes, than his Measures, in other Respects, have been to the Repose of this Country. What might have been obtained by a slow, progressive Motion, was lost in a sudden, though unforeseen Assault; and *Grenville* fell as unexpectedly as he had rose.

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The Fall of the Ministry, of which Mr. *Grenville* was considered as the Head, seemed, at first Sight, favourable to that Species of Opposition, the chief Engines of which are the Prejudices of the Vulgar. To the more accurate Observer of Political Motives, it appeared, that popular Clamour had no Share in the Changes in the Cabinet. The Increase of National Wealth and Consequence has given a more solid Power to the Crown, than it formerly derived from the Opinions and Principles of Individuals. If the present Age is too much enlightened to be swayed merely by Attachment and Reverence for the Royal Authority, it is too prudent and interested not to adhere to the Fountain from which Emolument so largely flows. The Crown, in short, by the Number of Places of Trust and Profit in its Gift, has a much stronger Hold of the Obedience of the Subject, than in Days when Principle was the only Inducement to Loyalty. Firmness in the Prince is all that is necessary to establish his Authority; for where the Wages are so great, there never can be a Want of Servants to carry on, with Vigor, the Business of Government.

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The Dismissal of Mr. *Grenville* shewed a Firmness in the S——n, that must prove fatal to Ministerial Schemes of Oligarchy. Mr. *Pitt*, with his wonted Penetration, perceived, that he must alter his Plan of Aggrandisement, or lay aside all Thoughts of ever having the Lead in Administration. A noble Lord, nearly allied to him, did not see so far. With a Vanity, to which his Parts could lay no just Claim, he proposed Terms, when solicited to come into Office, more like a sovereign Prince at the Head of a victorious Army, than a Subject offering his Service to his lawful Sovereign. His Proposals were rejected, with that silent Contempt, which Insolence, when it is the Offspring of incurable Folly, ought ever to meet. Mr. *Pitt* did not think his Time as yet arrived; and he declined the Offers made to him, in that conciliating Manner, which might tend most to prevent Prejudices against him, upon any future and more proper Occasion.

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The vamped Ministry of the Duke of *Cumberland*, if I may use that Expression, seemed to prophesy their own Fall in their unexpected Rise. The Marquis of *Rockingham*, an honest, and, perhaps, an agreeable Man in Private Life, was known to have no Turn, or Abilities, for the Management of Public Affairs. Mr. *Conway* in his Military Capacity, was remarkable only for the Undecisiveness of his Conduct. Possessed of a good Person and a genteel Address, he pleased the Eye with his Appearance; whilst his mental Abilities gave little Satisfaction to the Understanding. Hollow and deceitful, not from any Vice in the Mind, but from the Breach of Promise, which his Face and Manner seemed to have made, with regard to his inward Qualities. The Abilities of the Duke of *Grafton* were not then known, and, therefore, the Administration of 1765 could derive no Stability from them, in the Eyes of the People.

The apparent Feebleness of the Ministry furnished the most sanguine Hopes to the Party of Mr. *Grenville*. Their first and greatest Measure was disliked so much in the Closet, that their Ruin was supposed to be approaching with hasty Strides. My Lords the B——ps, the best Judges of Ministerial Permanency in the Kingdom, began to smell a Change of Weather in the Political Sky, and they turned their Faces to that Quarter, from which the Gale of Royal Favour was likely soon to blow. Questions were carried against the Ministry in the House of L—ds, and the Commons seemed to hesitate, to which Side to lean. In this Crisis of Affairs, Mr. *Pitt* came suddenly to the Relief of Administration ; not from any Affection to them ; and, I will do him the Justice to suppose, not from a Conviction of the Rectitude of the thing itself, but to prevent the Re-admission of the former Ministry into Office ; an Event, that was likely to remove, to a very great Distance, the Hopes he had conceived, of *guiding* the Affairs of the Nation, in his own Person.

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Mr. *Pitt's* Appearance in Favor of the Repeal of the Stamp Act, was not, however, sufficient to carry it into Execution. The Party, who still adhered to *Bute*, joined, from Principle, in an Opposition, which the former Ministry carried on, for the Purpose of forcing themselves into Office. A few, who had Access to the Presence, were no Strangers to the Aversion of the ——— to a Measure, which emancipated the Colonies from the Dominion of the Mother-Country. These chose rather to shew their Attachment to the Opinion of their S——n, than to adhere to a Ministry already tottering in their Offices. The Precipitancy of *Grenville* was now no less fatal to his own Act, than it proved to his Prospects of regaining the Power he had lost. A Meeting with *Bute*, professedly intended for the Settlement of a Plan of opposing the Repeal, though it might prove a Prelude to a Coalition, was unadvisedly converted, by Mr. *Grenville*, into a Negotiation for coming into Office. Recent Injuries were too fresh in his Lordship's Memory, to listen so suddenly to a Proposal of that Nature. Both retired in
Disgust,

Disgust, and the Hopes of *Grenville* and the Stamp Act vanished at once.

The carrying of the Repeal was so far from giving Strength to Administration, that, from that Moment their Ruin ought to be dated. Though, perhaps, no Commands of an opposite Nature were laid upon them, they could be no Strangers to the Opinion of the — on the Subject. To oppose his Opinion, in their first Measure, was far from being a Sign of their future Obedience to Command. An independent Oligarchy is always disagreeable; when it is composed of weak Men, it is, to the last Degree, disgraceful. A Resolution was formed to expel, from the Cabinet, a Junto, who preferred a paltry Act of Revenge against their Predecessors, to the Dignity and Interest of the Government of their Country.

Mr. *Pitt*, with his usual Sagacity, foresaw the Change that was to happen, and he was certain, that the former Ministry had rendered themselves too obnoxious, ever to be admitted into Office, except from the most urgent Necessity.

Necessity. This was the Time to prosecute his ambitious Designs upon the new Scheme which he had adopted. The Favor of the People he had, in a great Measure, lost; and, had he even retained it, after its being prostituted, by being conferred lately upon unworthy Objects, his Pride would revolt at owing to it his Greatness. He saw also, that there was a Firmness in the Closet, which scorned to listen to the Dictatorial Insolence of groundless Clamour. The new Plan suited his Genius. Bold, spirited, and intrepid, his Mind naturally partook more of the Character of a Despot, than of that Love of Equality which ought always to distinguish the popular Man. He knew, by a proper Attention to the Inclinations of the P—ce, that he could govern the People in that summary and decisive Manner, which suited the Vehemence of his Temper and his Pride.

It was upon these Principles, and from the Motives just mentioned, that the E— of C——m became the Head of the Administration, formed in *July* 1766. His warm, decisive,

five, and ambitious Mind was, at once, gratified with an unrivalled Possession of Power; his Vanity with a Title; and his Indigence relieved by the Emoluments of his Office. Men, who judged superficially of Things, pretended to foresee the Splendor of his former, renewed, in his present Administration; and others, not so sanguine in their Expectations, hoped for more Stability in the Cabinet, when a Man presided in it, who possessed at once the Confidence of the Prince and of the People.

The Event shewed that these wise Prognostics were made by Persons neither conversant in the Genius of the Times, nor in that of the Earl of *Chatbam*. The People of *England* are so fond of their Liberty, that they generally look, with a jealous Eye, if not with real Aversion, upon the principal Servants of the Crown. If, at any Time, this Prejudice is removed, it is when external Danger overcomes the groundless Fears of internal Encroachments upon their Freedom. The last Peace had removed the Cause of their Union
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in Favour of Mr. *Pitt* ; and the inherent Principle of Opposition against every Administration, returned (without any Retrospect to his former Popularity) with all its Force, upon the Earl of *Chatham*.

It happened unfortunately for his Lordship's Ambition that it was overbalanced by his Vanity. Accustomed to the Applause of the Mob, when in Office, he could not hold, with Satisfaction, the Helm, under their Displeasure. A precipitate and unadvised Measure ruined, at once, his Reputation, as a Politician, and, in its Consequences, became extremely humiliating to his Pride. To dispense with an Act of Parliament, by Proclamation, either argued too much Despotism, or Inattention and Ignorance in the Minister. The first Supposition, if true, ought to render him unworthy of his Place; the latter would prove his Incapacity to guide the Affairs of a Great Nation. To be obliged, however, to have an Act of Indemnity passed, for his first Measure, was not a good Specimen of what the World were to expect from his future Conduct. Ridiculed without Doors,

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harrassed within, removed from that Place where alone his Eloquence could support him, the Gout, his convenient Friend in every political Distress, came opportunely to his Aid. He retired, if possible, with a worse Grace, than the Earl of *Bute*; and chose rather to face the severest Inclemency of the Season, than to remain in *London*, in the mortifying Absence of all his former Eclat and political Reputation.

Chagrin and Disappointment were the Cause, Art or Disease the Companions of his Retirement. Which of the two latter predominated he has had the Industry to conceal effectually from the World. It is certain, that upon many Occasions, there has happened a wonderful Coincidence between Fits of the Gout and his political Designs; but whether a Farce could be carried on with such Success, for near three Years, must be left to the Determination of those, that are best acquainted with his private Character. It is not improbable, but his ardent Love of Power, co-operating with the earnest Solicitations of those illustrious Patri-

ots and Statesmen, his two Brothers, has obliterated the Wounds, which his Pride, Vanity, and Ambition received, in the Year 1766. His Enemies affirm, that his late Visit to *St. James's* concealed a Design under a Compliment; and they construe, perhaps with Reason, his aukward Complaisance, into a fawning Solicitation for a Place, which he had neither the Firmness nor Ability to retain, with Honor to himself nor Benefit to the Nation.

Unfortunately for the Family Faction, the Hints and Inuendoes of the E. of *Chatham* were not understood at Court. The Servants of the Crown were too well established in the Confidence of the S——n, to be shaken by the Appearance of a Man, who has added the Folly of Age to his natural Versatility and Inconstancy. The short Trial of his Abilities in 1766, demonstrated, that, however fit he might have been to move, with Rapidity, the Wheels of Government, in Time of War, he was extremely improper to guide the Machine, with the more equal Motion that best suits the Days of Peace. He dived again into his Obscurity;

and has ended, with little Lustre, a political Life, that was splendid, if not worthy of some Renown.

Mr. *Pitt* was certainly born with extraordinary Talents, as well as great Defects of the Mind. Intrepid, high-spirited, and active, there was a careless Decisiveness in his Measures, which rendered him respectable in his very Errors. But he was, at the same Time, negligent, unintelligent, swayed by Prejudice, vain, severe, versatile, ambitious, dogmatical, proud, and self-sufficient. The Harshness of his Manner, confined him to a few Friends, though the Splendor of his Genius gained him many Admirers. A Spendthrift, without Vice; a Lover of Money, without Avarice; and without Generosity, foolishly profuse. He was honest, more from Excess of Pride, than from Principle; and notwithstanding his Inconstancy of Mind, he preserved his political Faith, by being always the Head, and not a Member of Faction. Neglected in his Education, when young, his forcible Genius was splendid, but not polished; vigorous and
active,

active, without any Grace. His Eloquence took the Colour of the unformed Taste of his Mind: Unpolite, though nervous in his Satire; nauseous for want of Elegance and Art, in his Panegyric; specious, through a Fluency of Elocution, he persuaded more by taking the Ear, than by convincing the Understanding. Energy supplied his Want of Elegance, and a rapid Earnestness took the Place of those artful, though apparently negligent, Strokes of Passion, which are the chief Ornaments of Persuasive Oratory. He was, upon the whole, what the World call a great Character, and though few Instances of his Humanity can be specified, he cannot be reckoned a bad Man.

Though the Earl of *Chatbam's* Genius was penetrating and acute, he never was a good Judge of the Characters of Men. Given to Flattery, as well as to Abuse, himself, he was always the Dupe of downright Adulation. His Friends were generally those, that had praised his Abilities with the most Effrontery; not Men, whose Conduct and Attention to him, ought to be more believed, than the mere Noise of Words.

Words. Chance directed him more to the Choice of the Duke of *Grafton*, in the Year 1766, than any Knowledge of those great Talents, which his Grace seems to possess; and the Earl of *Shelburne*'s real Character was forgot, in the smooth Volubility of his Flattery. Mr. *Townsend* he seems to have known; for who could be a Stranger to the acute Versatility of *Charles*? A Man of Genius, without Abilities, and not dishonest, but variable in his Mind; he generally intended well, but his Sentiments changed before the proposed Good could be carried into Execution.

We may draw, as a general Inference, from what has been said, that the present Ministry, both from their acknowledged Abilities, and the Features of the Times, bid fair for a Permanency in Office. The only two Men, in the Kingdom, that could disturb them, or turn them from the Cabinet, have, by their own Inattention, Infatuation, or Folly, ruined every future Scheme, they might have upon leading in the Public Councils. The Earl of *Bute*, by the Favor of the P——ce, might have governed
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the People: The Earl of *Chatbam*, by the Confidence of the People, might have continued to guide the Affairs of the Nation. But as the first has intailed upon his Name, the indelible Stain of Political Timidity; the latter, by his Seceſſion, in the Year 1766, has betrayed an Inconſtancy of Diſpoſition, upon which it would be dangerous to depend.

This Reign being productive of ſo many Changes in Adminiſtration, few, who poſſeſſed the firſt Offices in the State, acquired any Confidence with the Sovereign, or Importance with the People, from their Elevation. Raiſed more by Accidents in Politics, than from a prior Opinion of their Talents, or Weight in the Community, they governed without Dignity, and fell without Regret. That Conſequence, which is obtained only by a Permanency in Power, did not follow them to their Retirement, or furniſh a future Proſpect of regaining, by the public Favor, the Stations they had loſt by their own Folly, and the conſequent Indignation of the S——n.

Mr.

Mr. *Grenville*, possessed of those laborious Talents, which are useful in inferior Detail, did not extend his Ideas to the great Movements of the Machine of Government. He owed to his Predecessor in Office, a Dignity, to which the utmost Stretch of his own Vanity could form no Claim. His Dulness had been mistaken by the Earl of *Bute*, for that good-natured Passiveness, which is more Fit for a Tool, than an independent Minister; and, without any good Opinion of his Head or Heart, he placed him aloft, by Way of Experiment, how far the Power of the Crown could support, in the highest Department, a Man destitute of Talents, Popularity, and Friends.

The penurious Disposition of *Grenville*, in private Life, assumed the Appearance of National Oeconomy in his public Station. His natural Dullness was mistaken for Wisdom; his precipitate and unadvised Manner acquired the Name of Spirit. Obstinacy with him was Firmness; a clownish Rudeness was Dignity; and a Difficulty of Apprehension took the Appellation

pellation of an inquisitive Love of Information. Men, who wished to support a Government, brought into Contempt by too much Pride in *Pitt*, and too little Spirit in *Bute*, put the best Construction upon what were really Failings in *Grenville*, and were it not for the Precipitancy of his Folly, as well as the Awkwardness of his Mind, he might, even with his Mediocrity of Genius, have long governed this Nation without Controul. His Management of the Finances deprived him of every Hope of being ever high in the Favor of the People; an uncourtly Obstinacy rendered him disagreeable, if not disgustful, in the Closet. His Measures sowed Dissensions between *Great Britain* and her Colonies, and ruined the lucrative Trade with the *Spaniards*, by enforcing too much the Act of Navigation. He fell, therefore, not only without Regret, but even loaded with Odium; and ungracious as he is to the S——n, and unsupported by the Favor of the People, there are little Hopes of his ever rising into Power.

The private Character of the Marquis of *Rockingham* is of that noiseless Kind, which is rather inoffensive than beloved; destitute of Vice, rather than replete with Virtue. In his public Life, as he had no Opinion of his own, he can scarcely be said to have any Character. Rising unexpectedly into Office, he was a Stranger to what he owed his Elevation. His own Vanity, and the Flattery of his undiscerning Friends, made him believe, that he derived from his own Popularity a Station, which he received merely by the Mismanagement of his Predecessor. Mistaking the actual Effect of an Accident in the Closet, for that of the Clamour without Doors, he turned the Power of the Crown to the Purposes of Faction; and, without sufficient Parts, endeavoured to hold out the Cabinet against the —, by the Aid of popular Noise. The Event shewed that he deceived himself. His Measures wore too much of the Appearance of a Feebleness of Mind, to gain Popularity; his more secret Behaviour offended his —. He resigned, without one Murmur of the People; and his Opposition to his Successors has not been able

to obliterate the Debility of his Administration.

The active Heads of Faction are, upon the Whole, to be little feared by Administration, either from their Influence with the People, or Weight with the S——n. Their own Want of attractive Talents will always deprive them of the former; the unadvised Manner of their Opposition, must, for ever, deny them the latter. The two neutral noble Lords are more formidable to the present Ministry, than the ill-cemented Friendship of *Grenville* and *Rockingham*. But as the Resignation of the Earl of *Bute* betrayed too much Timidity in him ever to come again into Office; so the Versatility, the Flight, the bodily Infirmities of the Earl of *Chatham*, have rendered him unfit to be ever trusted in public Business. We may, therefore, congratulate *Great Britain*, upon the Strength her Councils must acquire, from that Prospect of Permanency in Office, which the Situation of the Affairs of the Nation, as well as his own Abilities, seem to promise to the Duke of *Grafton*.

F I N I S.

to obtain the Deeds of his Adversaries

He then proceeded to the Court of the Admiralty

and there he was informed by the Admiralty

that the Deeds of his Adversaries were

not to be obtained by the Admiralty

but that they were to be obtained by the Court of the Admiralty

and that he was to apply to the Court of the Admiralty

for the Deeds of his Adversaries

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